CANDOUR

The British Views-- Letter

To defend national sovereignty against the menace of international finance

Volume 71. Number 7. **July 1998.**

Ross's libel victory grist for Zundel's Internet hate mill

By JACQUES POITRAS
The Telegraph Journal

)NCTON – The Malcolm Ross dict handed down last Friday has ady become the latest propaganda for Canada's far-right movement. The decision by Court of Queen's ch Justice Paul Creaghan that Mr. s was defamed by cartoonist Josh tel is being heralded by well- wn Toronto Holocaust denier st Zundel.

he verdict is being celebrated on Zundel's I People on be kicked ions!" say ns" poste eld Wide W he messa tel is Jewi ut Mr. Ro geance." he Inter

extreme-right movement in recent years, in part because communications law, including regulation, is still developing.

Mr. Zundel's bilingual

pay $2,170.

Mr. Ross is a former school teacher who was forced out of the classroom by a New Brunswick

that the decision "makes alleged religious beliefs a rationale for hatemon gering."

spreading the word about

Cartoonist defamed Ross: judge

Beutel ordered to pay $7,500 and teachers' association must pay $2,100

the judgment yet.

"I just got in and I have to study it and I have to consult with my lawyer before I can comment, and even then not be able to comment," Mr. Saint John home

Teachers worried by Ross victory

■ **Court rules in favor of former Moncton teacher in lawsuit**

hasn't received its copy of the 20-page judgment by Moncton Court of Queen's Bench Justice Paul Creaghan and

to in- of the ng it. gment te the

ers Association in his lawsuit, which was heard in February in Moncton.

Beutel, whose cartoons depicted Ross as a Nazi and neo-Nazi, was ordered to pay $7,500 in damages to Ross. Beutel said Sunday

Has the association been held responsible for providing a venue fo Beutel to display what the cour ruled as defamatory?, she asked What implication does this have fc any organization, whether teacher Lions Club, Rotary Club or loc group wanting to invite gues speakers?

Ross decision sends chill through teachers' group

(Continued from Page A1)

The association and likely all her groups base their decisions the reputation of the guest peaker, she said.

Beutel has a very

on, she add ake a prese 993 social stu ional develop ohn dealing Malcolm Ross were not on th liscussion.

Ross said Sur decision will " NBTA) more ca ing people who their members think the judge p he said they shou

ly it will be realized we're no zis, we're simply concerned tians defending the faith; case, the Christian docum

Racists: Critics call ruling 'stupid'

Continued from page A1

At a 1993 teachers' workshop on the Hol and anti-Semitism spon- New Brunswick Teach- ion Social Studies Coun- el displayed several car- Mr. Ross, who was in at-

two illustrations side picted Adolf Hitler and rching past the gates of death camp; the other holding his books. fference between the propagandist) Josef Malcolm Ross?" it word "Conspiracy"

aghan of the Court said it was fair for nent on and criti- s as a racist and an

d Mr. Ross is op- gling of the races

Free speech remains alive

What are we to make of the successful Malcolm Ross libel case against New Brunswick political cartoonist Josh Beutel? Does it mean that we as a society can no longer criticize those who hold anti-se-

Revenge of the racists

White supremacists sue their detractors for libel – and win

BY STEPHEN BINDMAN

Racists, it seems, have rights to And reputations. eputa- utation

Two prominent Holocaust denie sses Mr. well known for their white supre ciar views, have rec awards for the

EDITORIAL

A hollow victory for Malcolm Ross

One of the most regrettable outcomes of M colm Ross's libel lawsuit against cartoonist Jo Beutel was also the most predictable: The verdi allowed his lawyer to climb up on a soapbox.

That lawyer, Doug Christie, a man well-know for defending Holocaust deniers, described h client in yesterday's newspapers as a man who ha his sincere be

VICTORY *ADVANCE* ....

Many *Candour* readers asked us to up date them on the Malcolm Ross court case in Canada.

Dear Rosine,

Thank you for your very kind and complete coverage of my case in the March/April/May, 1998 issue of *Candour*. I do so appreciate you sharing my story with your readers, and I received very positive letters in response to your publishing my address.

I have some good news to share regarding this case as I won the defamation action much to the chagrin of our foes. They cannot believe that a court actually found that someone holding Traditional Christian beliefs and values has a reputation worth preserving! Hence they have launched an appeal which might take a year or more to get into court.

The media had a mixed reaction to this, and some actually felt that the Jewish cartoonist had gone too far. However many joined the Jewish community in feeling outrage at the decision and, of course, they are now coming out strongly for freedom of speech! What hypocrisy!

Earlier this month the most influential 'paper in our country's capital published a front page story on my case and that of Eileen Pressler who also won a similar defamation action in British Columbia. These two victories, so close together and both won by Doug Christie have caused quite a stir among those so used to saying anything they want about alleged racists and "anti-semites."

I am enclosing some samples of media coverage, and thank you again for your encouraging article. ***CANDOUR*** is certainly an effective way to keep the torch of Truth burning in the British Isles, and may God grant that Our People are brought back to the Christian Faith.

Prayers and best wishes in Christ the King,

Malcolm Ross.

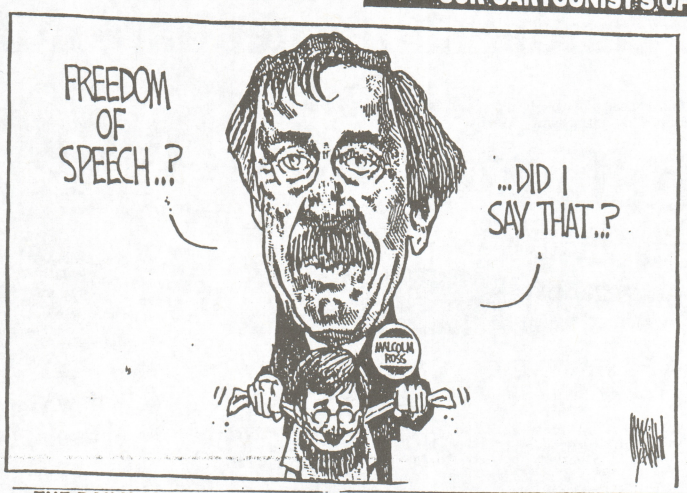
BOX 399, MONCTON, N.B.
CANADA, E1C 8L4

REVENGE OF THE CARTOONISTS

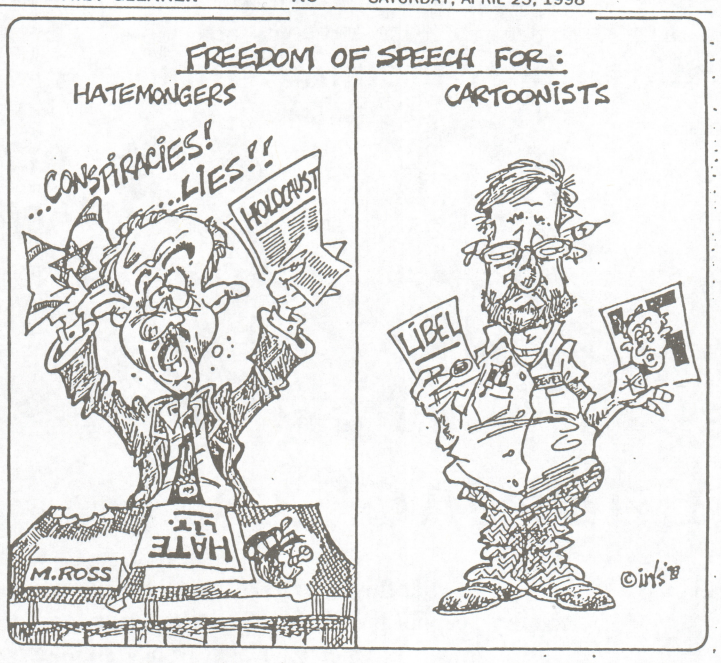
Opinion

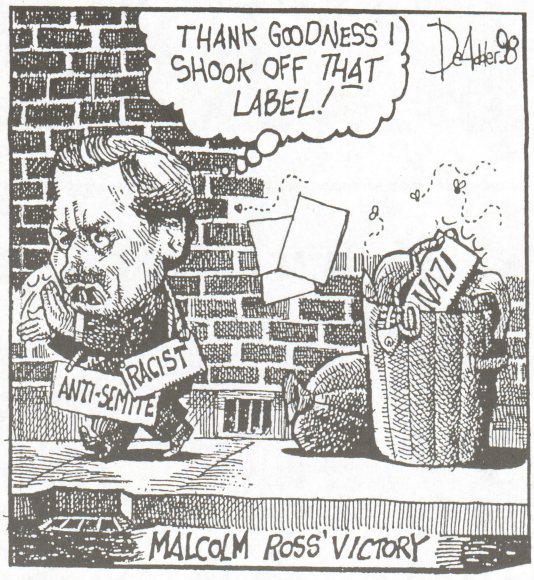
THE DAILY GLEANER — TUESDAY, MAY 5, 1998

OUR CARTOONIST'S OPINION



THE DAILY GLEANER — A6 — SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1998





CARTOON CHILL

Times-Globe Apr. 22/98

One of Canada's most respected cartoonists fears the Malcolm Ross decision will lead to pulled punches

By JOHN MAZEROLLE
Special to the Times Globe

A Montreal newspaper cartoonist known for his bold and controversial cartoons is concerned about the Malcolm Ross decision.

Terry Mosher is worried that the ruling – which saw a New Brunswick judge order cartoonist Josh Beutel to pay the Holocaust denier $7,500 for depicting him as a Nazi – will cause editors to be overly cautious when considering their cartoonists' work.

Though Mr. Mosher, better known by his pen name Aislin, isn't worried about his traditionally liberal editors at the Montreal Gazette, he's concerned that the decision may put the fear of God into managers at other papers.

"There isn't an editor alive that's said to a cartoonist . . . 'I want you to be more controversial,' " he said.

Though he worries more cartoonists may be censored come publication time, he doesn't think it will have any effect on what they do when they sit down with ink and paper.

Mr. Mosher says he has depicted people as Nazis before. If someone who believed the death camps were elaborate fakes, as Mr. Ross does, turned up in his area in the future, he wouldn't hesitate to do so again.

"Denial of the Holocaust is a contentious issue and it calls for contentious comment," he said.

By nature, a cartoon is exaggeration and it should be treated as such, Mr. Mosher said. As an example, he mentioned a cartoon he had drawn recently depicting Bloc Quebecois MP Stephan Tremblay high on pot. Mr. Mosher says he was exaggerating to make a point. The cartoon was not true, nor was it ever meant to be understood as such.

"Satire does not have to do with facts," he said.

Mr. Mosher says there is another reason why cartoonists should be allowed to depict people as Nazis. He feels part of a cartoonist's job is to speak for the people.

"Part of your job is to express public opinion and outrage," he said.

He added that satire is very different from news and should therefore work under very different rules.

He also said that satire is healthy since it inspires debate.

"Laughing at things is a very important part of a civilized dialogue," he said.

Though he wanted it stressed that he didn't know all the details of the Ross case, he wondered if the court was familiar with a 1980 British Columbia decision which was seen as a major victory for cartoonists.

Victoria Times cartoonist Bob Bierman was sued after depicting then-human resources minister Bill Van der Zalm gleefully picking the wings off flies. The B.C. Supreme Court ruled in Van der Zalm's favour but the decision was overturned by the Court of Appeal. Judges there said the cartoon was not defamatory since it was a comment on true facts, the matter commented on matters of public interest, and it represented the cartoonist's honest opinion.

As for what limits Mr. Mosher feels should be put on cartoonists, he believes that there can be no concrete rules put in place because every specific case is a judgement call.

Personally, he says he won't draw anything concerning a person's private life unless it is directly affecting their work. ■

Update:-

In the March/April/May issue of *Candour* we published an article which explained the, then, situation of Malcolm Ross.

Let us put the picture together. Malcolm Ross took the traditional enemies to court in Canada.

The beginning of February, 1998, saw the opening of Malcolm Ross's lawsuit against the New Brunswick Teacher's Association and against the cartoonist Josh Beutel.

The ruling comes months after a fifteen day defamation trial sparked by a May 6, 1993 presentation, Mr. Beutel made at a New Brunswick Teacher's Association (NBTA) function at a synagogue in Saint John, Moncton. At the time, Mr. Ross was no longer teaching, but remained a member of the Association, and attended Mr. Beutel's workshop. The cartoonist spoke about Jewish history, and showed the teachers some of his drawings of Mr. Ross. As a result Mr. Ross took Beutel and the NBTA to court for defaming him. He claimed that because of the actions of Beutel and the NBTA he was held up to ridicule and contempt before his teaching peers, and before members of the community at large.

In his 29-page decision, Juge Creaghan stated that Mr. Beutel presented information "that, by any reasonable interpretation, a right-thinking person would find depicted Malcolm Ross as an anti-semite, a racist, and a Nazi."

Beutel's lawyer, David M. Lutz, Q.C., said the decision was a "great disappointment."

"I'll have to study this judgement carefully, and consult with others. Then, we will determine what course of action we will take, "said Mr. Lutz.

Bernie Farber, of the Canadian Jewish Congress, remarkable for the noise it generates despite it's small, percentage wise, numbers, vowed that if an appeal against the decision were launched, the Jewish Congress would request status with the court, *and* send its own lawyers to support the appeal. (The Toronto-based Jewish Congress is Canada's foremost Jewish advocacy group. i.e. Most Muscle).

Mr. Ross's lawyer, Doug Christie, said, "this is the first time Malcolm Ross has ever had the opportunity of a fair trial in a court of law. His reputation is just as valuable as anybody else's and he didn't have to face one of their politically correct, phoney human rights tribunals. This time he had a proper court, with proper legal principles, and the judge - who was impartial - took the position that everybody has a reputation, including Malcolm Ross."

Mr. Christie continued: "Malcolm Ross has a good reputation among those who know him and, through much of the media, his reputation has been injured by people who didn't know him. And I think it is important that those who vilified him realise that he is a human being and he has the right to respect, like everyone else for his honestly held religious beliefs."

The result of this court case has had our traditional foes and their allies doing somersaults in a effort to be at the same time outraged with the verdict and yet appear to be magnaminous in defeat. Instead of paying up, the intention of the legal muscle arrayed against Malcolm Ross by a host of Jewish organisations seems to be to appeal and try and break his will, or assets, by dragging a lawsuit appeal on for years.

However if there is an appeal and the Canadian Jewish Congress wants to seek intervenor status, as it did when Mr. Ross was fighting dismissal from his teaching position, "It doesn't mean they'll get intervenor status," said Mr. Ross, referring to what is essentially third-party status. "I find their reaction is quite exaggerated."

He also says he is offended by the Congress' reaction, in which Atlantic Region Chairman, Victor Goldberg, said the judge "sent out a message that hatemongering is a legitimate option in our society."

"I can see the complete hypocrisy of it," Ross told the *Times & Transcript.* "They're pretending to stand for freedom of expression and then try to block out anything written against them."

Malcolm tells *Candour* that he is going to write a book about the trial. In the meanwhile he should be contacted at his address in Canada, see frontpage. (If you send a fiver or tenner, Malcolm will send you a news update of his trials and tribulations, support those who fight *with* you.)

FOOTNOTE by *R de B.*

What future now for those successive migrants from South Africa who thought to avoid the rigours of resistance by seeking asylum in Canada? Or is this perhaps the end of their various leaps from the Kenyan frying pan into the fires of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa to find themselves, at last, "surplus to establishment" among the fire *fighting* stalwarts of Canada?

* * * * *

Doug Christie speaking at Forest House before an invited audience of 50 friends is available on video for only £ 10.00. Please make your cheques or Postal Orders payable to FREEDOM VIDEOS and send to BOX 1, Forest House, Liss Forest, Hampshire, GU33 7DD. England.

Man's First Disobedience

by A.K.M. Moscow, June/July 1998.

(To receive A.K.M.'s updates please send a Sterling contribution or IRC, International Reply Coupon, to *Postfach 171, Wein, Austria.)*

Not long ago, a lady speaker on a TV World Events programme commented that something had gone wrong in Russia at the time when Gorbatchev adopted his privatisation policy. That something was wrong was true enough, but it was an old story, a consequence of the dictatorship of the Dark Powers imposed on Russia by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, as it had been on England by the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and on France in 1789.

At the end of the last century Russian affairs and Russia's relations with the outside world were dominated by the war declared by Jacob Schiff, leader of American Jewry, on the Russian Emperor, Nicholas II, and all Russians. For Schiff, Russia - like Byzantium, Spain and other nations before her - had sinned by requiring her Jewish subjects to respect Russian law and therefore, like the others been placed under the herem or ban of the World Empire of Jewry.

Jacob Schiff, fronting for the Dark Powers and aided by the Democracies overthrew the Russian Monarchy. He gave Russia over to Lenin and his team of Bolsheviks mandated to make the Kremlin the seat of a world Communist dictatorship in which such Russians as survived would be required only to supply cannon fodder or cheap labour wherever they might be needed.

After a reign of terror lasting seventy years Communism, repeatedly saved from collapse by the same Democracies, proved itself not only intrinsically inept but also incapable of extinguishing the patriotism of the Russian people.

Gorbatchev, hard core Communist, made a pretence of recognising the political as well as economic bankruptcy of Communism and announced a new era of neo-liberal transparency (a better means than Communism of keeping the masses in subjection). Unconvinced of his personal credibility, the Russians elected Jeltsin to replace him.

Jeltsin, a former Communist Party official, won his election in 1991 with the votes of Communists and Communist dissidents hopeful that he would liberalise the Administration, and his re-election in 1996 with substantial backing of Jewish American dollars. He continued Gorbatchev's privatisation and transparency policy and businessmen, considering him morally bound to support them in return for their aid in financing his re-election, recovered the control of the economy they had come near to losing with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Thus, the transition in Russia from a planned to a market economy favoured the spread of the mafia and the meteoric rise to wealth and power of individuals such as

Boris Berezovsky, who openly boasted that, together with six others of the same water, he controlled virtually fifty per cent of the Russian economy.

By nominating Berezovsky deputy chief of Russia's National Security Council despite his claim to be, "like every Jew in Russia.... a dual citizen" (of Israel and Russia), Jeltsin showed that he had not defrauded his backers. Although he finally removed Berezovsky from this key post in the Russian Government, his critics still complain that the people who rule Russia under his Presidency are no different from those who ruined it in Communist times.

During his absence in hospital Jeltsin, unsure of the loyalty of his Ministers, dismissed the Government and appointed Kirilenko Prime Minister. The nomination, reluctantly accepted by the Duma, did not necessarily imply a change of policy. Just as Gorbatchev had let the curtain fall on the mirage of Communist hegemony and Jeltsin had raised it again on the promise of a neo-liberal golden age, both programmes superficially distinct but designed to keep effective power in the hands of the same occult Establishment that had given Russia to Lenin and his Bolsheviks, so there is no reason to suppose that Kirilenko, already brainwashed at Harvard, will not toe the same new-world-order line directed always to the same end: *world empire with the total extinction of Russia.*

At present, the European nations form two groups. First, Russia and other ex-members of the Soviet Union who have had first hand experience of Communism and know to whom they owed it; secondly, so-called free nations, currently being lured, bullied or hi-jacked into the European Union, "promised land" of neo-liberal milk and honey. For the latter particularly the moment is critical. Should the "free" peoples awake to the treason of the representatives they have elected to govern them, people power might well turn the tables on the traitors and deprive them of the world dictatorship they deem already as good as within their grasp.

The participation of Jeltsin in the July Saint Petersburg ceremony - planned to inter once and for all, together with possible Romanov bones, the memory of a Revolution which misfired and the crimes of its promotors - was the price of more loans to Russia from Bill Clinton and the "World" Bank. What is needed, however, is not loans to bind Russia in chains of debt but changes to forestall the collapse threatening not only Russia but also the entire "democratic" world.

Russia is feared by sponsors of the new world order because, in spite of its present parlous condition, it is not yet moribund. Communism left Russia ravaged by corruption and at the mercy of the Dark Powers. The heart, however, was not crushed out of the Russian people. Russians hope instinctively for a new order free of the vice of liberalism, product of *man's first disobedience.* A revival of Russian autocracy, combining Russian and Western traditions and rooted in their once common faith, would end the dictatorship of the Dark Powers on both sides as surely as both were given over to it by an apostate world in the name of a false gospel of freedom and democracy.

A.K.M.

Only in *Candour* -
The Truth since 1953....

Angola

Now.... and Then....

The following newspaper report was received at Forest House a few days ago, possibly from Australia, (Note: Please mark cuttings with date and title of publication!) it is however very recent. The *italics* are *Candour's.*

"The fatal disease of sleeping sickness, which *had almost been extinguished by colonial medicine*, is raging out of control in Angola.

The collapse of the stricken African country's medical structure through civil war and government neglect has allowed the disease to ravage the rural population, infecting up to one in five in some parts of the countryside.

In the hot wards of N'dalatando's dilapidated hospital, victims lie stretched listlessly on stained mattresses, awaiting treatment by a team from Medecins San Frontieres who are leading the struggle against the disease in the Cazengo district of Kwanzo Norte province.

Cazengo is one small sector of a front of infection that stretches from northern Angola into equatorial Zaire. Staff are working without proper data, using treatments that are old, painful and expensive.

Trypanosomiasis Gambiense is a more brutal disease than its lay-name implies. The early symptoms are banal - headache, fever and vomiting. Sufferers doze off during the day but find sleep difficult at night.

In the final stages, the victims suffer bouts of insanity before falling into a coma. The process can take up to three years.

The disease is caused by blood parasites transmitted by the tsetse fly, which lives under trees and close to water.

The parasites - trypanosomes - swarm through the blood, invading the central nervous system and eventually attacking the brain. Tsetse flies are hard to destroy, although crude traps exist, and there is no prophylactic."

"Soon after the influx of the United Nations soldiery into the Congo, and no doubt under its cover, there was a serious rebellion against Portuguese rule in Angola, a territory efficiently governed by Portugal during many centuries. Ghanaian soldiers, who may have been unofficially detatched from the Ghanaian contingent sent to the Congo, were reported to be among the prisoners captured when the Portuguese authorities, taking strong counter-action, gained control of the situation after the insurgents had committed the most appalling atrocities. The putting down of the rebellion was the first serious rebuff encountered by the take-over bidders in their otherwise successful conquest of the African continent and, all the more because of its belief in the importance of symbolism, the Transatlantic power behind the campaign of subversion cannot be expected to accept its defeat as final. As this book is being written the author has had reports of the systematic building-up of subversive forces, both within and without Angola, to mount a more powerful rebellion against Portuguese rule." *The New Unhappy Lords.* A.K. Chesterton. 1965.

A MAN TO LEAD

(Or, a Horse for the Course)

(The following is taken from *SALAZAR*, Rebuilder of Portugal *by* F.C.C. Egerton. 1943.)

"It is undoubtedly difficult for an outsider to understand how a man like Salazar can have achieved the success he has achieved in a country like Portugal, or, indeed, in any country at the present day. He is a dictator, and the word 'dictator' has come to be invested with associations which have no sort of relation to Salazar. The other dictators we know are men who, by their military prestige, by their capacity for arousing enthusiasm among the masses, or by their cleverness in playing upon the emotions and passions of the mob, have skillfully manouvered themselves into a position of quasi-omnipotence; men of personal ambition, to whom the end they have in view seems to justify the employment of any means, however unscrupulous. All these dictators have raised themselves to power by some sort of *coup d'etat*; they have relied upon the application of force by a highly organised and fanatical body of followers. They have usually established themselves by the exploitation of predominant grievances and the promise of an assured millenium under their rule. They are explosive, spectacular, exhibitionist. Above all, they base themselves upon brute force. They employ it openly and unashamedly whenever possible, and surreptitiously when this does not seem expedient. Under them, there comes into existence an army of blindly devoted followers, whose sole function is to maintain the position of their leaders, regardless of all considerations other than that for which they were created.

Salazar relaxing in the garden of his modest home

Salazar has none of these qualities: he has relied upon none of these accessories. He is less like the typical dictator than is the average politician, and he is not even a politician in the accepted sense of the word. He has friends and he has enemies, but he has no party, and certainly no insensate, adoring, or deluded body of followers. His critics - and these are to be found in the ranks of those who support him as well as among his opponents - find him unduly cold and unemotional. They cannot see below the surface. He does not give himself away, and they complain that they are unable to tell what he feels and thinks. He works so tirelessly and methodically that men who find it hard or impossibe to emulate him discover something repellent and inhuman about him. In short, they find all sorts of reasons why, remaining Salazar, he should be something different from what he actually is, less ascetic perhaps, more communicative, more ready to give and take in everyday relations, less rigidly economical and more accomodating.

Others find Salazar mysterious, unaccountable, but this really means no more than that he is unusual. There has grown up everywhere a type of ruler, whether as dictator or democratic statesman. Salazar does not conform to either type. He does not change; he does not trim his sails to meet every little variation in the political wind; he is not inconsistent or opportunist; he does not try to escape from difficult situations by disguising his principles or by evading the point. He always means what he says, and nothing could be more disconcerting to a generation which has become accustomed to humbug and deceit, to opportunism and lack of principle. Moreover, he is a convinced and practising Christian, a devout Catholic, and his religion permeates and irradiates all his actions. This, too, is disconcerting to a generation which, if it is not entirely anti-religious or irreligious, is more inclined to render lip-service to religion than to observe it in public life. There is nothing in his political past which he would like to forget or to conceal, no inconvenient aberration which has to be explained away.

It is only possible to understand Salazar as the willing instrument of an ideal. This ideal he adopted as a young student and to its service he has ever since unflinchingly devoted himself. It is simply this which makes it so difficult for a generation like ours to understand him, and it is simply this which constitutes his strength and enables him not only to do what he does, but to maintain his position. Salazar is made of the stuff of martyrs. He possesses the faith which can remove mountains in the same heroic degree, and he applies that faith and the devotion which accompanies it to the service of his fellow Portuguese, and, through them, to the world in general."

SALAZAR: THE FORGOTTEN LEADER

Conclusion of the leading article from the June issue of *Candour*. (*H.E.* The Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar is speaking at the Ceremony of Swearing in the Executive Committee of the National Union, on 18 February 1965.)

"I know that into weaker minds the enemy pours a subtle poison by stating that such problems can only be solved politically, never militarily, and that any prolongation of the struggle is ruinous for the exchequer and useless for the Nation. My answer is this: the terrorism we are obliged to combat is not an outburst of feeling of peoples who, not being part of a nation, consciously aspire to independence. It is only the work of subversive elements, the majority of them alien to the territories concerned, paid by foreign powers for their own political ends. As elements alien to the national community, they will wither away the moment they are warned off the territory where they are organised and trained and are refused political support and the aid they received in weapons and money, Thus the "political solutions", if not envisaging national disintegration (which all pretend to repel), lies not in us but in those neighbour countries whom we may, by such means as we have at our disposal, gradually make to understand their obligations as responsible States with a duty to us and to the poor people who are being

stupidly sacrificed to serve the interests of third parties. But, in this context, military defence is the only means of reaching a political solution that, at bottom, is to ensure order in the territories and the peaceful progress of the populations, as we have been doing.

The struggle has been going on for almost four years: has anything been gained with the money of the common folk; the blood of our soldiers and their mothers' tears? I dare to answer 'yes'. On the international plane, at the outset, the Portuguese position was roundly condemned; then some doubt was expressed about the validity of the reasons against it; many of the most responsible men finally recognised that after all Portugal is fighting not only to confirm a right but to defend principles and interests that are common to the entire West. On the African plane, four years of sacrifices have given time for a better clarification of the problem of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, the diversity of the situations created in Africa in the course of centuries and the profit or loss, at any rate the difficulties which the independence so ambitiously sought by a few has brought to everyone else and which the leaders are still unable to solve. Thus several African peoples seem to us to understand better the realities of the situation and to have assumed a more moderate attitude. This is the positive gain from a battle in which we, the Portuguese of Europe and of Africa, are fighting quietly, without allies, proudly alone.

* * *

Now a few words about the political climate at home, which I figure to be overcast with doubt and worries. I can understand this; by touching on certain causes of world unrest I also explain the domestic situation to some extent and in some aspects. Due to an inextricable mechanism of inter-dependence, part of our national life suffers pressures from outside - doctrinaire, economic and political - which it cannot hope to avoid. Thus, when things go badly in the world at large, we could hardly hope for things at home to run quite smoothly. But we also have our own causes of unrest.

In the Oversea Provinces we bear the brunt of wars that cannot be borne, much less won, without sacrifices of blood and money. That is why taxes have had to be increased and it is also possible that, in the panorama of the vast tax reforms that have been published, some forms of taxation are not wholly just and for that very reason do not correspond to the intention of the legislator.

A succession of bad years in agriculture has necessarily led to sizeable losses, both for landowners and for farmers. This year is an exceptionally dry one; if it continues like this, it will bring about a drought without water for irrigation and serious difficulties in suppling electricity. Industry which is not affected by climatic irregularities has increased and progressed satisfactorily; but, due to the excess of population working in agriculture, industrial progress does not proportionally benefit rural populations, who seek a solution in emigration, often in the most disorderly manner and to an unjustifiable extent, thus bringing about a shortage of labour in vast rural areas. Supplies to the public have been maintained at a more or less normal level, but many prices have risen with corresponding hardships for the weaker economies.

When such phenomena take place on such a scale, the population tends to intensify and accelerate its pressure to obtain higher wages, thinking by this means to avoid the difficulties common to all. The large experience of peoples shows that such remedies are useless, if not harmful, for rises in wages are reflected in prices and price rises in the value of currency, thus bringing the process back to its starting point. The greatest achievement of the Finance Ministers during the last forty years has been in fact to *maintain financial equilibrium and the stability of the currency* (Editor's italics.) both of which are the very bases of our progress and which must be preserved, if we are to survive. That is why, except in cases of adjustments called for by the imperious needs of justice, we should not give in to the wave of apparent facilities which relieve the present by compromising the future. It seems to me particularly absurd that, while as a nation we have to face greater expenditure, we should always, in an unbalanced imitation of foreign fashions, want to earn more and at the same time to work less.

On several occasions during the last great war I happened to receive high-ranking British personalities to discuss serious issues. I noticed their old, worn-out suits, frayed at the cuffs. I was at times moved by these tokens of poverty which they were not ashamed to show, for after all it meant the sacrifice deliberately made for the supreme purpose of the struggle in which their nation was engaged. I know that our position cannot be compared to theirs, and perhaps for that reason we do not see such sights here, but rather in certain cases the spectacle of a wealth which delights in display and is almost offensive in its exaggeration. Personally I would like such people to be more modest and, in these moments of crisis, above all more discreet too.

The fact that we announced and began to carry out a plan which has been given the name of 'agricultural reconversion' made many apprehensive, because its aims, the methods to be used and the care to be taken in the long process of transition were not fully understood. Nothing, except lack of comprehension, should cause apprehension in our agricultural circles.

I am myself a man from a rural area and, although in a different situation, I have lived through two wars, one in which we intervened actively within the framework of an alliance, the other in which, while we did not join the fight, we had to organise our defence in the four corners of the world. Hence it is that I understand the countryside and am aware of the vital needs that it must satisfy. Independently of what we may call the poetry of the countryside, which provokes somewhat disdainful smiles, from industrial sectors of the economy, for myself, if there had to be a competition, I should prefer agriculture to industry. But if you want to become rich, you cannot do it through agriculture, even if progressive and industrialised, in this country of poor soils and uncertain climate. The soil is humble, for it lets itself be trodden on at every instant; work in the fields is humble, for man tills the soil, humbly bending over the furrows; the fruit of his labour is poor because it stands at the beginning of a cycle of commercial or industrial operations intended to enhance its value or enrich it. Agricultural work, subject to the burning sun or the harassing rain, is thus above all a vocational dedication to poverty; but its pride is that it alone feeds man and enables him to live. When one governs a country and one is faced with difficult markets, seas which cannot be crossed, hungry mouths not knowing where their next food will come from, the poor soil, the humble soil then rises to the supreme heights of unrevealed heroism and incalculable worth.

When the need was stated to correct the agricultural face of the country, to extend forests to bare hills and to the

fields we cover with poor harvests, the idea was not to give up cultivation of cereals but to obtain richer or more profitable crops on other soils and at the same time to let trees grow where wheat does not. Thus the more intense afforestation of Portugal does not mean a reduction of cultivated area, exodus of rural workers, abandonment of the bread we grow, although the conditions are not very favourable we shall have to pay, even if dearly, as it were a form of war insurance.

Much has been said about the defects of our agrarian structure. They are obvious and will become all the more obvious to those concerned in the measure in which we succeed in correcting them. But perhaps because we have not clearly defined the terms of the basic question, that is, the relation of cultivation to property, some unjustified concern has been caused, for some at once foresaw repercussions in the little family garden or in the vast estate with its well balanced cultivation. This feeling stemmed from the love of the land which flows in our blood, but it was justified neither by the intentions of the plan, nor by any steps that have been taken.

Things big and small have accumulated to impede our progress, some existing only in a startled imagination, others in the real facts of life. But all that calls for revision will be revised, not hastily but in the calm of our best understanding.

* * *

It is easy to understand how, in this tangle of problems and possible solutions, adversities which rain down on us as a punishment from heaven and difficulties caused by world politics, it is not difficult to create an atmosphere of doubt and worry at home. I have said that one part of our life as a nation undergoes the influences of external inter-dependence; but another part, the most important and serious, is determined by us alone and for it we are fully and solely responsible. A people that takes by itself, in the face of the imperatives of its history, the virile decision to resist, because it knows that it needs to resist in order to survive, will gain from that very decision the strength it needs to face difficulties. I therefore believe that the Overseas Provinces cannot for us be a source of discouragement but, on the contrary, a fount of the healthiest optimism.

Apart from the Portuguese from Africa who fight in the forces or defend in the best Portuguese spirit their villages and crops in the provinces of Africa, we have already some tens of thousands of men with us and, eventually, hundreds of thousands who lived in the backwoods, risked their lives on the seas and in the jungles, hazarded their lives to defend the Country and saw in the Overseas Provinces a projection of the Portuguese Nation in its real grandeur. What significance can such men find in the opposition elements that conspire with communism in Paris or Algiers to hand Portugal over to it or in those more moderate elements who do no more than see if they can gain power, when all know from the vagueness of their language that for them it is the same thing whether the battle is lost here or there beyond the seas? And are we not worthy of those who fight not only for themselves and for us but also for the justice due to us and for the welfare of the peoples to whom we are dedicated?

When the Indian Union seized Goa, the conclusion reached in international circles was that it obtained rich iron and manganese mines and a port such as there is none other on its coasts. But nobody seems to have thought that there were also an Indo-Portuguese soul and culture there, the loving work of four centuries and a half of toil and sacrifice. For that very reason the mines are almost out of work and the port of Mormugao is not being developed. Just to increase its immense territory by a few inches the Indian Union created another factor of division in the deep cleavages which disturb its life and plunged it into its own breast. Never as now have there been so many Portuguese and so noble a Portuguese sentiment in Goa, facing tyrannical authorities on the very same territory that the hypocrisy of many describes as 'liberated' from Portuguese oppression.

The world is now learning this lesson from our suffering, but we do not want it to learn another less lightly from the other territories that constitute the Portuguese Nation. But this *not wanting* has a secret, which is that we should be quite clear what we are fighting for, that is, the reasons of our national struggle.

I will humbly confess that in so many years I have not achieved two things that I truly believed to be essential: to persuade governments that they need a political support for their work and that this support can only come from the National Union; and to convince the National Union that political training cannot be left to chance reading or family influence, but should be based on systematic, persistent information.

Face to face with us stand only two organisations which give sufficient attention to the training of their adepts: the Catholic Church and communism. In the words of Tertulian, the human soul is naturally Christian, but even so the Church has always considered that it could not exist without active indoctrination to illustrate the understanding of its dogmas and to lead consciences to the practice of its code of morality. Thus the Church can christianise the nation and even the State. I think it should stop there, for it cannot substitute the State nor do its work in the material or profane order. And if, forgetting bitter historical experiences, it should feel the temptation to interfere in political activity, it should not do so, because the more we see life becoming materialistic, the more absorbing becomes the spiritual mission of the Church.

* * *

Communism also tries to be a religion in its own way; it works like a church, indoctrinating and training its followers, with extensive means and a scientific basis worthy of a finer cause, but which are so efficient that, although the communist doctrine is anti-natural, even so it succeeds against nature in winning supporters who devote themselves totally to its service and are ready to die for it, if need be.

Given the lack to which I have referred, and as regards essential matters, we have been aided by the still consistent fund of Portuguese spirit, the lessons of history and the example of its great men and women, the wholesome tradition of our ancestors whose memory the political events of recent centuries have been powerless to erase. But to obtain firm support, to train soldiers for a selfless cause and to win their unconditional devotion to it, the constant action of an enlightened doctrinal action is necessary. When the enemy felt that our organisations could be the leaven of a new society or the forces of stabilization needed in the restless times in which we have been living, it at once launched a campaign to discredit them. And, given our indecision, the enemy has worked well, knowing what its interests were, while we were showing that we did not know our real needs.

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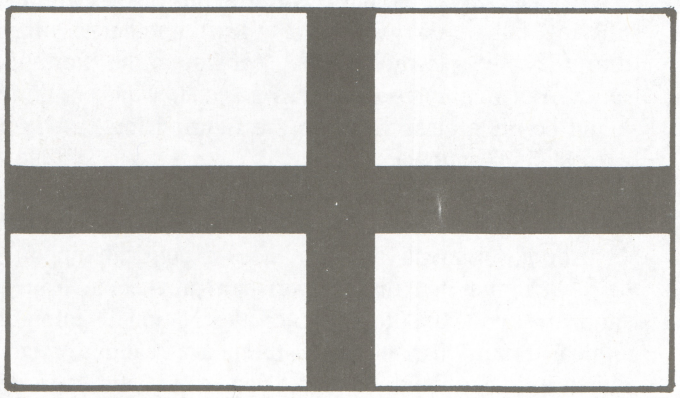

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